

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-03

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 EUR-08 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05

CIAE-00 L-01 PRS-01 SS-14 PM-03 DODE-00 SP-02 /047 W

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FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO USMISSION USUN NY

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 2784

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 0309

LIMDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SF, UN, ZA

SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICA NON-AGGRESSION PACTS

REF: USUN 397; CAPE TOWN 108

1. IN OUR OPINION IT WOULD BE QUITE SOME TIME BEFORE SOUTH AFRICA COULD HOPE TO APPROACH OTHER AFRICAN STATES WITH ANY CONFIDENCE OR REAL HOPE IT COULD CONCLUDE EITHER DEFENSE OR NON-AGGRESSION PACTS WITH THEM. SAG'S 800-KM ADVANCE INTO ANGOLA IN OPPOSITION TO MPLA/BUAN THREAT WILL NOT SOON BE FORGOTTEN BY MANY AFRICANS, NOR WILL CURRENT DEBATE OVER SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENSE AMENDMENT ACT BILL REASSURE THEM OF SOUTH AFRICA'S BENEVOLENT AND NON-AGGRESSIVE INTENTIONS TOWARDS ITS AFRICAN NEIGHBORS. HARM DONE TO FNLA/UNITA POLITICAL CAUSE IN AFRICA BY THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY COOPERATION, WHICH WAS THEN SUDDENLY WITHDRAWN AT CRITICAL MOMENT IN FACE OF SUPERIOR CUBAN/MPLA FIRE POWER, ALSO SERVES AS SOBERING OBJECT LESSON TO OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS.

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2. EVEN AS CLOSE AS ZAMBIA HAS COME TO SOUTH AFRICA IN COURSE OF ITS DIRECT CONTACTS OVER RHODESIA DURING PAST 18 MONTHS, AND DESPITE WHAT WE BELIEVE IS SLIGHTLY SCHIZOPHRENIC ZAMBIA REACTION TO SOUTH AFRICAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL FROM ANGOLA AT TIME WHEN UNITA FORCES ARE OUT-GUNNED AND ON THE DEFENSIVE, PRES KAUNDA WOULD HESITATE TO ENTER INTO A DEFENSE OR NON-AGGRESSION PACT WITH SAG. THIS HESITATION WOULD STEM FROM: (A) FEAR OF HOSTILE REACTION OF OTHER AFRICAN STATES, ESPECIALLY OF THOSE MILITANTS LIKE TANZANIA AND MOZAMBIQUE IN WHOSE COMPANY ZAMBIA HAS USUALLY TRAVELED AND WITH WHICH FOR ECONOMIC AS WELL AS POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL REASONS ZAMBIA NEEDS TO CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN CLOSE TIES; (B) CERTAIN DISAPPROVAL BY MANY OF KAUNDA'S OWN PERSONAL ADVISERS AND POLITICAL COLLEAGUES IN THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, SOME OF WHOM COUNSELED AGAINST HIS MEETING WITH VORSTER AT TIME OF AUG 1975 VICTORIA FALLS BRIDGE TALKS ON RHODESIA; (C) UNWILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE HIS OWN AND ZAMBIA'S PRINCIPLES RE LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA FROM ALL FORMS OF WHITE MINORITY RULE. KAUNDA IS ON RECORD AS FAVORING POLITICAL SOLUTIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA BUT WOULD NEVERTHELESS ASSENT, ALBEIT RELUCTANTLY, TO ARMED STRUGGLE IF THIS APPEARED ONLY WAY LIBERATION MOVEMENTS COULD ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA OR DESTRUCTION OF HATED APARTHEID SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF. HE WOULD NOT THEREFORE WISH APPEAR TO FORECLOSE OPTION OF VIOLENCE

AS A LAST RESORT THROUGH CONCLUSION OF NON-AGGRESSION PACT WITH SOUTH AFRICA IT NOW EXISTS; (D) UNPERSUASIVE HISTORY OF OTHER NON-AGGRESSION PACTS, E.G., MOLOTOV-RIBBENTROP PACT OF 1940 OR SOVIET-JAPAN NON-AGGRESSION PACT IN 1945.

3. ABOVE ASSESSMENT DOES NOT MEAN THAT, IN CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES AND FOR LIMITED DURATIONS OF TIME, ZAMBIANS MAY NOT BE PREPARED TO URGE OR EVEN TO COMPEL RESTRAINT ON FREEDOM FIGHTERS WISHING TO ATTACK SOUTH AFRICANS. ZAMBIA ACTED LAST FALL TO MOVE SWAPO CAMPS AWAY FROM ITS SOUTHWESTERN FRONTIER WITH NAMIBIA WHILE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES WERE INSIDE ANGOLA SUPPORTING UNITA. WHETHER OR NOT THERE WAS ANY PRIOR UNDERSTANDING REACHED BETWEEN ZAMBIANS AND

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SOUTH AFRICANS TO TAKE THIS ACTION, WE HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT IT MEANS ZAMBIANS WOULD CONSIDER FORECLOSING POSSIBILITY AT SOME LATER DATE OF ALLOWING SWAPO TO RESUME USE OF ZAMBIAN BASES FOR INCURSIONS THROUGH ANGOLA INTO NAMIBIA.

4. IN SHORT, ANY SERIOUS ATTEMPT BY SOUTH AFRICANS AT THIS TIME TO SEEK A FORMAL NON-AGGRESSION OR DEFENSE PACT

WITH ZAMBIA WOULD ONLY EMBARRASS KAUNDA, POSSIBLY  
INHIBIT DIALOGUE BETWEEN TWO GOVERNMENTS ON RHODESIA,  
AND LIKELY INVITE A ZAMBIAN REBUFF. ON OTHER HAND,  
ZAMBIANS HAVE SHOWN, AS SUGGESTED PARA 3 ABOVE, THAT  
SOME FORM OF TACIT COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA CAN  
EXIST WHEN CLEAR ZAMBIAN INTERESTS ARE SERVED THEREBY.

5. AS QUESTION OF ZAMBIA AGREEING TO CONCLUDE DEFENSE  
OR NON-AGGRESSION PACT WITH SOUTH AFRICA SO REMOTE, WE  
HESITATE TO RAISE IT EVEN INDIRECTLY AT FOREIGN POLICY  
LEVEL UNLESS DEPT WISHES US TO DO SO.  
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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** INTERVENTION, FOREIGN RELATIONS, MILITARY AGREEMENTS, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 06 FEB 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** coburnhl  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976LUSAKA00309  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760047-0248  
**From:** LUSAKA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760275/aaaacnog.tel  
**Line Count:** 127  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION IO  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Reference:** 76 CAPE TOWN 108  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** coburnhl  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 22 APR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <22 APR 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <10 AUG 2004 by coburnhl>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SOUTH AFRICA NON-AGGRESSION PACTS  
**TAGS:** PFOR, SF, ZA, AO, UN  
**To:** USUN NEW YORK  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006